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Reconstruction in France and Germany during and after the Second World War

Hartmut Frank*

1. Reconstruction before Reconstruction

When in May 1945 the Second World War ended in Europe with Germany's defeat, German town planners and architects could already look back on a rich tradition of reconstruction experience. From 1914 onward they had been busy rebuilding and modernizing devastated areas in various parts of the continent. Already in the winter of 1914/15, at the beginning of the First World War, a large reconstruction programme began in East Prussia at the eastern border of Germany, immediately following the repulse of Russian troops. The invaders had left a zone of total destruction behind them and thus created an unexpected opportunity for organizations like the 'Deutscher Werkbund' and the 'Deutscher Bund Heimatschutz' to apply their reform concepts in a complex reconstruction programme. In the course of this effort, a whole generation of German architects received training for the much larger tasks awaiting them during and after Second World War.

After the end of the First World War, German politicians tried in vain to offer this specific know-how to France for assistance in the reconstruction of battlefield areas in northern France and Belgium and as a part of the reparations demanded from Germany after the war. Since this proposal was not accepted, during the entire interwar period French architects were free to develop and implement their own modernization concepts.

Another national reconstruction program got underway in 1939 in post-civil-war Spain, as the rest of Europe entered the Second World War. Even the ongoing war did not stop planning for reconstruction, which followed immediately and with the utmost intensity the Blitzkrieg actions in Poland, Norway, France, Belgium, and the Netherlands. In Poland planning followed the precedent of the experience gained in neighbouring East Prussia, and was carried out entirely by German architects. It was a central and well prepared part of German policy to annex and Germanize western Poland and colonize its eastern part. In Belgium and the Netherlands, famous local architects like Henry van der Velde and M.J. Granpré-Molière were charged by the German occupation forces with the task of planning reconstruction programmes. In Norway, a collaborative effort between German and Norwegian architects was headed by Albert Speer and Sverre Pedersen.

After 1942 the rapid developments in aerial warfare brought reconstruction tasks of a new dimension. In Great Britain as well as in continental Europe, the reconstruction of bombed cities

*Hochschule für bildende Künste Hamburg, Fachbereich Architektur (School of Fine Arts Hamburg, Faculty of Architecture)

became a major preoccupation of architects and urban planners. The large-scale reconstruction programs of the postwar period were largely based on planning experience acquired under varying circumstances during the war.

2. The Heart of Europe

The history of planning in the German-French border zone on both sides of the Rhine, ranging from Luxemburg in the north to Switzerland in the south, differs remarkably from the rest of the continent. This European midland, once the heart of medieval Lotharingia – a small strip of land stretching from the North Sea to the Mediterrenian that was inherited by Charlemagne's son Lothair in the 9th century – remained a disputed territory between France in the west and Germany in the east for centuries, and was the cause of no less than three wars in the short period between 1870 and 1939 alone. Between 1941 and 1944 Germany attempted once more to reintegrate the partly German-speaking Alsace and Lorraine into the Reich, whereas after the war France attempted to annex the coal- and steel-producing Saar area and intended to transform the rest of her occupation zone into a small buffer state integrated into the French economic system.

Large-scale resettlement and re-Germanization programs combined with rural modernization characterized the highly ideological German approach during the first two years of the Occupation but quickly changed to a policy of industrial development in step with the logic of a war economy. The French followed a different strategy, concentrating on the cultural re-education of the German population combined with the utmost economic exploitation of the occupation zone. Less complex, their intervention was restricted to the planning of a new representative capital and the radical modern rebuilding of the industrial cities of the Saar area.

Both Germany and France employed first-class architects and planners in these programmes. Among the German architects we find famous names like Ernst Neufert, Rudolf Schwarz, Richard Döcker, and Paul Schmitthenner, and among the French, Marcel Lods, Gérald Hanning, Marcel Roux, André Sive, Georges-Henri Pingusson, and Edouard Menkès, all of whom produced outstanding pilot-projects that would have been judged utopian under normal (i.e., civil) circumstances. Despite the fact that these projects were never executed, they became a decisive seed of ferment for the development of a common European approach to planning at the beginning of the 1950s. Their concepts were known and discussed on both sides of the Rhine. Even though these proposals remained unpublished during wartime, a sufficient number of collaborators existed across the border who shared the memory of these projects and thus took part in the development of something like a collective knowledge of modern urban planning in both Germany and France.

3. The Restructuring of the 'Westmark'

On both sides of the heavily fortified border (the German 'Westwall' and the French 'Máginot Line') the entire population of a broad sector had been evacuated before the outbreak of fighting. These citizens could not be resettled after the ceasefire owing to the heavy destruction in this area. In addition to this group, at Christmas 1941 the provisional German civil administration expelled

thousands of French-speaking inhabitants of the Lorrain from adjacent districts in the former French Département Moselle. Both the devastated area and this resettlement area received the status of 'restructuration zone' (*Neuordnungsgebiet*), in which the immediate planning of new villages and small towns had to be undertaken to establish a 'human Westwall' consisting of new German settlers, established on modern farms in rehabilitated villages, who were brought in from all over southeastern Europe. As a new administrative unit, the districts on both sides of the former border (encompassing the former Département Moselle, the Saar region, the Palatinate, and parts of the Prussian Rhine province) were united into a new province (*Gau*) called 'Westmark,' to which a specially privileged planning body (*Wiederaufbauamt*) was appointed to deal with the devastated and depopulated areas.

The establishment of new 'entailed estates' (*Erbhöfe*) such as the German standard farm required not only a novel distribution of cultivated land but also a completely different typology of farmhouses and a new village layout. In 1941, the architect Rudolf Schwarz, famous in the interwar period for his radical modern Catholic churches, was working on new village plans and was then charged with the planning of the industrial region around Diedenhofen/Thionville, while others, for instance Emil Steffan and Rudolf Steinbach, experimented with new typologies for farmhouses based on the regional tradition. At the same time, Richard Döcker, a former collaborator of Walter Gropius, adopted a contrary approach, developing standardized prefabricated farmhouses. Steffan and Steinbach collected and systematized their realized reconstructions and projects in 1943 in a 'Baufibel,' a handbook for a new regional architecture of the Lorraine that survived the end of the war only in manuscript form (it was published only in 1983). Döcker's 'Westmarknorm,' a generalized normalization system derived in 1944 from its projects of 'entailed estates,' was already in print, but its distribution came to a halt in the chaotic situation at the end of the war.

4. "On the Construction of the Earth"

Schwarz's reflections upon his planning practice during the war met with a better fate. When at the end of 1944 Schwarz became an American prisoner of war, he was permitted to keep all his manuscripts and had the opportunity to work out his thoughts while he was imprisoned. As a result, Schwarz was ultimately able to publish one of the most sophisticated books on the subject of planning to be found in German literature of this period. The title of his book – *Von der Bebauung der Erde* (On the Construction of the Earth) – instantly reflects the work's strongly philosophical approach, which drew from Schwarz's Catholic faith and the thinking of both his friend the Catholic philosopher Romano Guardini and the medieval thinker Thomas Aquinas.

Schwarz opens his essay with basic thoughts about time, earth, stratifications, and building processes in nature and then turns to the appropriation of earth by man, to the transformation of the natural into a human landscape. But the simple agricultural life of man in concord with the divine order of the world – 'the first plan' of man – is endangered by modern technology, the unlimited destructive exploitation of natural resources, and the unplanned use of the inherited landscape – 'the second plan' – which is most blatantly evident in the modern industrial metropolis. Modern man must be reconciled with the divine order in a new, 'third plan,' and in this project

the architect and the urban planner has a central role.

Schwarz's book is full of examples, both visual and verbal, but owing to the philosophical character of this essay in planning these are offered without any indication of their actual location. Beside numerous almost emblematic diagrams we can identify a Mesopotamian ziggurat, an Inca pyramid, an Asian terraced landscape, a plan of the ancient greek city Priene and another of the medieval East Prussian city of Neidenburg, but also examples from our own time, such as Herbert Rimpl's plan for the 'Stadt-der-Hermann-Göring-Werke,' a modern industrial city newly founded in prewar Nazi Germany, or the new town of Sabaudia in Fascist Italy. The other examples provided to illustrate the possibilities of modern planning, Schwarz's 'third plan,' are not so easily identified. To read them we need to turn to Schwarz's autobiography, in which he explains the decisive role of his war work in the Lorraine in the development of his thinking as an architect and planner. Here we find descriptions that make it possible to understand the illustrations of his theoretical work and to identify them as Schwarz's own plans for restructured villages and for the industrial region around Diedenhofen and the Fentsch Valley.

5. 'Stadtlandschaft' Diedenhofen

Schwarz himself characterizes the plan for Diedenhofen and its surrounding industrial area as a new type of industrial metropolis, neither big city nor dispersed settlement but a 'Stadtlandschaft,' an urban landscape. But his 'Stadtlandschaft' is more sophisticated than the one typically encountered in German urban planning of the day, which normally describes a type of settlement unifying the heterogenous zoning of different land use by an overall system of parks, parkways, green belts, and green cones. Schwarz's concept is based on a set of several distinct elements: the landscape, the mines, the steel-mills and other industries, the flow of products and workers, the neighbourhoods and homes of the workers, and the places of higher significance (e.g., administration, culture, religion). The planning of industry and its sites as well as new infrastructure like canals, railways, and highways, settled by other planning organizations, was accepted by Schwarz as a given and unchangeable fact. His task is the definition of a settlement-plan for a tripled population of industrial workers as a result of the war economy and its fast-developing base of heavy industry.

Thus Schwarz begins with the areas of production concentrated in the valleys of the rivers Fentsch and Mosel, regarding their given position as a sort of linear city in the sense of Miljutin's Sotsgorod, to which he refers in a note. Schwarz does not, however, follow the strict formal system of a linear city, with parallel lines of parks and housing to each side of the industrial belt. Instead, he places the new worker settlements at a certain distance from the industrial sector and the existing villages, forming small independent cells located on the plain above the valley. He defines each cell as a 'school-unit' (*Schulschaft*) of about 2,500 inhabitants, following the parish model in Christian communities. These units of individual single-family houses with garden plots of 500 to 1000 m^2 are allocated in pairs or fours around the necessary social infrastructure, very much as in the '*kvartaly*' developed in the new industrial towns of the Soviet Union by Walter Schwagenscheidt, a former colleague of Schwarz working in the collective of Ernst May. In the

outer zone of this system we find the restructured villages surrounded with a ring of small-scale industries and large-scale farms.

The old town of Diedenhofen, a favourite seat of Charlemagne, becomes the '*Hochstadt*' (literally 'high city'), the cultural and spiritual centre of this dispersed system of settlements. Here administration, commerce, and leisure are combined with culture, higher education, and religion once more surrounded by varying groups of 'school-units' separated from each other and from the city core by green belts.

This galaxy-like cloud of housing units, infrastructure, industries, and monuments gives form to a totally new typology of industrial city that has to do with neither the traditional walled city nor with the company towns of the 19th century nor with the total dispersal of Frank Lloyd Wright's 'Broadacre City,' formulated at about the same time. As a concept, Schwarz's Diedenhofen plan has much in common with contemporary English projects like Abercrombie's Greater London Plan of 1943, the remarkable similarity of which becomes even more evident in Schwarz's post-war plan for the reconstruction of Cologne.

6. Creating a New 'Old City'

Both the more conventional 'urban landscape' plan and the radical linear city plan are to be found in the vicinity of Schwarz's Diedenhofen. Saarbruck was envisaged as the new capital of 'Westmark' and the plan drawn up for it in 1940 by Georg Laub displays all the characteristics of an 'urban landscape' as it was understood by the leading German urban planners of the time, from Hermann Jansen to Albert Speer. There is the monumental '*Stadtkrone*' or 'city crown,' with its forum, consisting of the main buildings for the representation of state and party, a diminishing density towards the periphery, various green belts and strips, and a well-defined edge of the city marked by sports arenas, parks, and small allotment gardens. Much more compact than Schwarz's Diedenhofen plan, the new Saarbruck is more city than landscape, more formal space (*Raumkunst*) than urban planning.

At first sight, the designated capital of the newly created 'Gau Oberrhein,' which united the former Alsatian Département Bas Rhin and Département Haut Rhin with Land Baden on the German side of the Rhine, seems an example of Nazi city planning *par excellence*. In 1940 Paul Schmitthenner, Alsatian by descent and a famous professor in the leading school of architecture at Stuttgart during the interwar years, won the competition for a New Strasburg with a project that monumentalized this historical city to the utmost, totally rejecting the current urban landcape concepts.

But what does the label 'Nazi planning' actually explain? The discourse of German planning during the thirties was extremely rich, and planning during the Nazi period was at its height. All the advanced planning concepts current in Great Britain, the United States, and Scandinavia could also be found in Germany. In many cases planning concepts there were more articulated and often far ahead of those in the less industrialized neighbouring countries like France or Poland. The widely published plan drawn up by Speer for the 'New Berlin' was, despite its role in official propaganda, neither the only expression of contemporary planning concepts nor a model of official planning. At

the same time it remained a classical 'urban landscape,' and directly followed its predecessors in the competition of 1910 for a 'Greater Berlin' in the proposal of a more elaborate monumental centre and more fully articulated satellite housing areas in the periphery.

Neither a national capital nor an industrial city, Schmitthenner's 'New Strasburg' clearly differs from Speer's Berlin, Laub's Saarbruck, and Schwarz's Diedenhofen. Schmitthenner conceived Strasburg's new role as predominently symbolic, and proposed a plan that turns the famous old city around the Gothic cathedral, with its rich medieval centre untouched and full of built monuments from its French and German past, towards the Rhine, reaching across to the little city of Kehl on the opposite bank. The whole 'New Strasburg' was to become a bridge across the Rhine, reuniting Alsace with the Reich from which it was twice separated during its history.

Schmitthenner's plan is the dream of an Alsatian regionalist and pan-German. He added new representative quarters around official buldings and characteristic fora (squares and circles, three at the east and one in the west of the historic city) and bridged the Rhine with a monumental construction of the highest symbolic intent. Schmitthenner defined a totally compact city, leaving the historic quarter virtually untouched but intervening heavily in the late 19th-century sector. In his plan the old and the new quarters became linked together by a new ring road and a new ring railway, through which he introduced the latest concepts in transportation planning into his project. In this manner sufficient space was created for future developments at no risk of spoiling the surrounding countryside by a city spreading boundlessly beyond its borders.

At the opposite end of the spectrum we find Otto Ernst Schweizer's plan for Karlsruhe, a much younger city than Strasburg but still an historic city of the highest rank. Karlsruhe was chosen for the redevelopment of its industrial potential in compensation for its lost status as provincial capital of the recently dissolved state of Baden after the naming of Strasburg as the new Gau-capital. Schweizer, a professor of city planning at the Polytechnic of Karlsruhe, presented a project for a city extension along existing and new transportation arteries, totally rejecting the impressive Baroque plan of the historic city. Schweizer's scheme is radically functionalist and was undeniably influenced by the Russian disurbanists and the linear-city debates of the late 1920s. Where Schwarz envisioned a new conceptional structure for the large industrial city based on social reform and religious faith, and Schmitthenner stressed the symbolic role of architecture to represent his ardent regionalism, Schweizer's proposal ventures into mechanistic and ostentatious rational objectivity.

7. Modernism Versus Regionalism

As none of these plans was executed, it is the effects of their articulation on paper that remain to be traced. As noted above, Schwarz continued his work as a city planner in Cologne immediately upon his release as a prisoner of war. Otto Ernst Schweizer retained his professorial post at the Karlsruhe school of architecture into the 1950s and developed proposals for various parts of postwar Germany, of which the best known are a plan for the new capital of the Federal Republic in Bonn and the reconstruction and extension of the industrial city of Rheinhausen.

But the threads of our story knot in a surprising way in postwar Mayence, which becomes the

designated capital of the French Occupation Zone in 1945. Marcel Lods, a close follower of Le Corbusier and, in the 1930s, the architect of the well known high-rise housing project at Drancy near Paris received the commission to develop a plan for this new capital from the local military commander, and opened a planning office with an international team that included, most notably, the Frenchman Gérald Hanning, a member of ASCORAL and a close collaborator with Le Corbusier in the 1930s and 1940s, Elsa Sundvall, a Swedish architect with a Parisian background, and Adolf Abel, a former assistant of O.E. Schweizer and then, during the war, the city planner of Mayence.

As early as 1946 this group proposed one of the most radical formulations of the modern city following the ideas of Le Corbusier. Neglecting totally the existing plan of a city that had been substantially destroyed in allied bombing raids but had nevertheless preserved its basic built environment, with many of its buildings only partly destroyed and much of its technical infrastructure intact. It is precisely the less damaged Wilhelminian Neustadt district of Mayence that Lods regarded as a tabula rasa where a 'vertical green city' could be erected to house the new French-government employees and their families. But perhaps the most surprising aspect of this project is neither this indifference nor the proposed high-rise housing displaying the rather ornamental form familiar from Le Corbusier's contemporary plan for the reconstruction of St. Dié or Lods's own plan for Sotteville-le-Rouen. Most striking is the general master plan embedding this new admistrative centre and its housing area into a totally new infrastructure of motorways, airports, railways, and bridges serving a vast region around Mayence and covering also areas of the American Occupation Zone on the other bank of the Rhine.

What looks initially like a literal interpretation of Le Corbusier's latest theoretical work – 'Sur les 4 routes' (1941), 'La charte d'Athènes' (1943), and 'Les trois établissements humains' (1945) – proves upon closer investigation to be a combination of his theory and the personal history of the authors of this reconstruction proposal, mainly that of Adolf Bayer. Only one year earlier Bayer had been involved in the formulation of a regional development plan for the region of Mayence, a so-called '*Wirtschaftsplan*' that with little effort can be discerned behind the Lods plan. With Bayer's contribution, some of the basic concepts of Schweizer's radical functionalism reappear, blended with the particular aesthetic of Le Corbusier. The 'New Mayence' left the linear-city orthodoxy behind and replaced it with the Corbusian theorems of the vertical radiant city, yet it remains one of the most radical articulations of European functionalist city planning.

The German population of Mayence was shocked by the radicality of these proposals and complained about the colonial attitude of the Lods team and the military government. With the establishment of a new local administration, they soon received an effective instrument by which to oppose and counteract the scheme. When the new mayor of Mayence got wind of the direction Lods's plans were taking, he commissioned Paul Schmitthenner to develop a counter-proposal. Schmitthenner, who was not only the most famous architect in southwestern Germany but also on good terms with the French occupation forces, was sufficently prudent not to confront the Lods project directly, on the same ground (i.e., in the Neustadt district), but concentrated his intervention on the historic centre of Mayence detoured by Lods.

Schmitthenner did not rebuild the destroyed historical core of the city but invented a modern, old-looking city re-employing certain concepts from his Strasburg project of five years earlier. But

whereas in Strasburg he had not touched the historical structures and could propose a new city replacing the Wilhelminian districts and extending into unbuilt lands between the city centre and the Rhine, here he had to deal with the historical structures that the war had left standing and find an equilibrium between the nostalgic desires of the population and the economic interests of the local bourgeoisie. Schmitthenner changed the still-medieval street pattern to suit modern requirements and proposed a variable building typology in conformity with his own regionalistic architectural doctrine. He thus created a fictious old Mayence for the new shops, offices, and housing of this central part of the city, purposefully contrasting the ostentatious modernism of Lods.

Lods's position was weakened by this opposition and he countered with an exhibitionoftried to counter his plans and the publication of the first German version of the 'Charte d'Athènes' with fascinating illustrations by Gérald Hanning. However, the French high commander General Koenig and his artistic advisor de Jaeger did not back his concept and, worse, showed a certain sympathy for Schmitthenner's proposal. But Schmitthenner too failed to win the match, owing to his free and superficial treatment of certain historical remnants. His project was heavily criticized by Karl Gruber, another leading traditionalist architect teaching at the Darmstadt polytechnical school, who had formerly been a fervent supporter of Schmitthenner's architecture and who advocated in Mayence the reconstruction of the 'sacred' medieval precinct around the cathedral, which had not even survived the 19th century. Another opponent was Richard Jörg, the new head of the city town planning department, who was a former collaborator with Schweizer and a close friend of Bayer. Though Jörg had not enough power to secure the realization of the Lods plan, he had sufficent power to hinder Schmitthenner's.

When the Federal Republic of Germany was finally founded in 1949, Mayence was reconstructed, like so many other German cities, more or less following the lines of the existing sites, patterns of landownership, and technical infrastructure, with very few drastic interventions and employing a conventional and interchangeable modern architecture.

The fate of the Lods plan was shared by the other French reconstruction plans for German cities that were elaborated by a group of planners in the Saar area under Marcel Roux, with Georges Henri Pingusson, Edouard Menkés, André Sive, and several other committed modernists. They too faced local resistence, although they never encountered the elaborate counter-proposal that faced Lods in Mayence. Their plans were dropped as a consequence of the rapidly changing political and economic conditions of postwar Central Europe, which made the Saar and neighbouring Lorraine the heartland of the newly created European Organization for Coal and Steel, to become the nucleus of the new European Community.

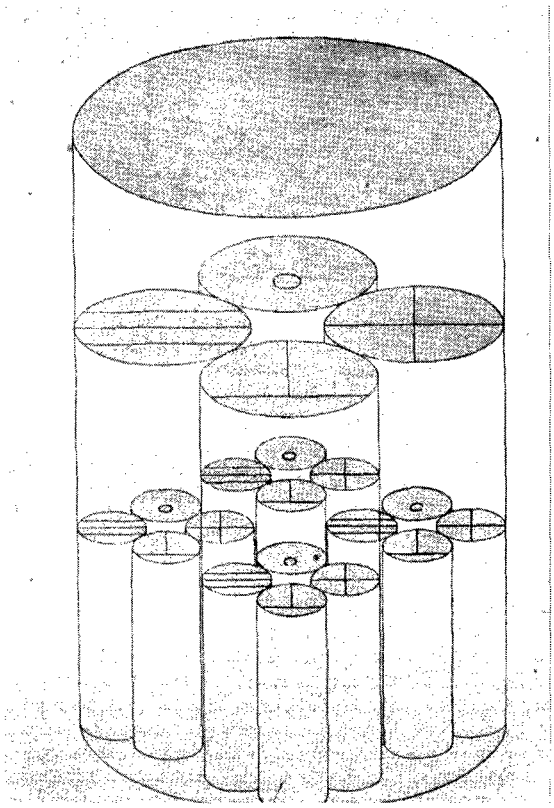
None of the plans discussed here was executed, or had a visible impact on the actual postwar reconstruction of the cities they were developed for. Europe's bombed cities were resurrected mostly in a very pragmatic way, with the exception of rare examples such as Le Havre, Rotterdam, Coventry, Freudenstadt, or Helgoland, reflecting the efforts of architects and city planners to rebuild the lost or to invent a new world, realizing at least in part their conception of what a contemporary city should be. The pragmatism that usually held sway was in total conformity with the vulgarized modernist planning concepts that would soon sweep aside the rich discourse on town planning that arose in the first half of this century; nearly a generation would pass before it was

rediscovered and reassessed in the 1980s.

But what happened in this French-German border region during and after the Second World War nevertheless had its impact on the thinking of European planners. Despite war, hatred, blood, and ruins, it marked the beginning of a convergence among planning ideologies that could no longer be regarded as either German or French, and thus became the starting point of a new common European thinking in planning.

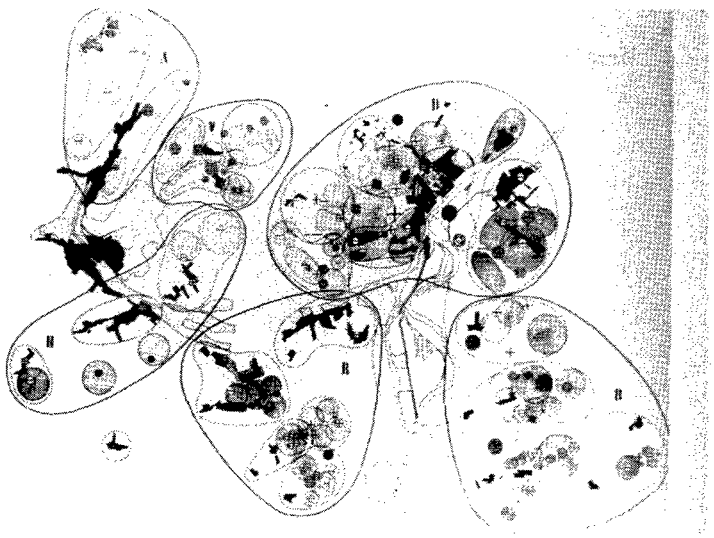
Note

This paper was first presented as part of the workshop "The Reconstruction after World War II" at the annual meeting of The City Planning Institute of Japan in Yamagata, Japan, in November 1998. It is based on the as-yet unpublished results of a joint French-German research project of the Volkswagen-Stiftung dealing with "German-French Relations 1940-1959 and Their Impact on Architecture and Urban Form" conducted between 1986 and 1989 and led by Jean-Louis Cohen (Paris) and Hartmut Frank (Hamburg). A preliminary summary was published in *Casabella* 567 (Milan, April 1990).



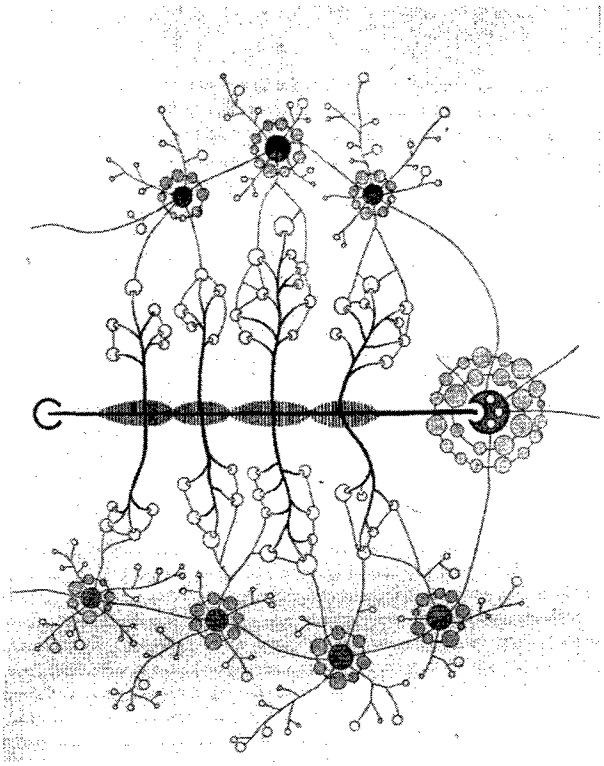
(From Schwarz: Von der Bebauung der Erde, Heidelberg 1949)
Symbolic representation of its hierarchy consisting of the four Landscapes of Working (Arbeit), of Formation (Bildung), of Majesty (Hoheit), and of Adoration (Anbetung)

Fig.1 Rudolf Schwarz:"The Landscape of the Total"



(Rudolf Schwarz Archiv Köiln)

Fig.3 Rudolf Schwarz: Planning Units of the Urban Landscape of Thionville/Diedenhofen, 1942

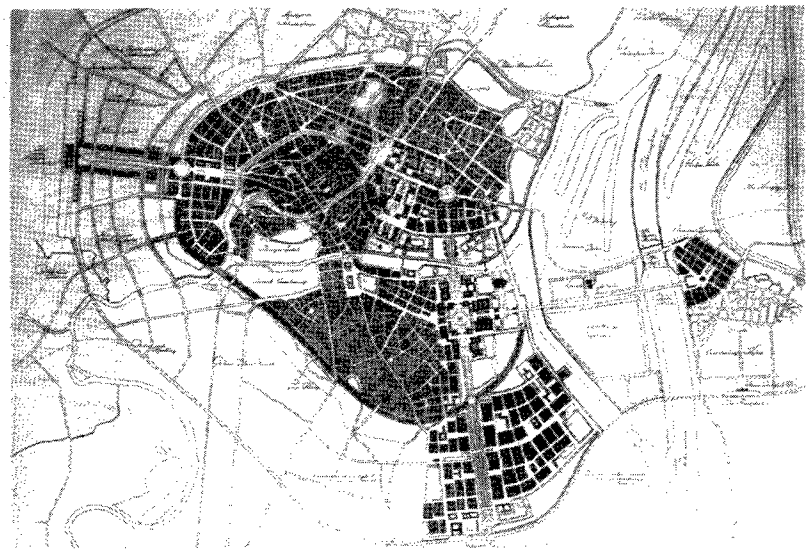


(From Schwarz: Von der Bebauung der Erde, Heidelberg 1949)

Fig.2 Rudolf Schwarz: The "Milky Way" of the Urban Landscape of Thionville/Diedenhofen

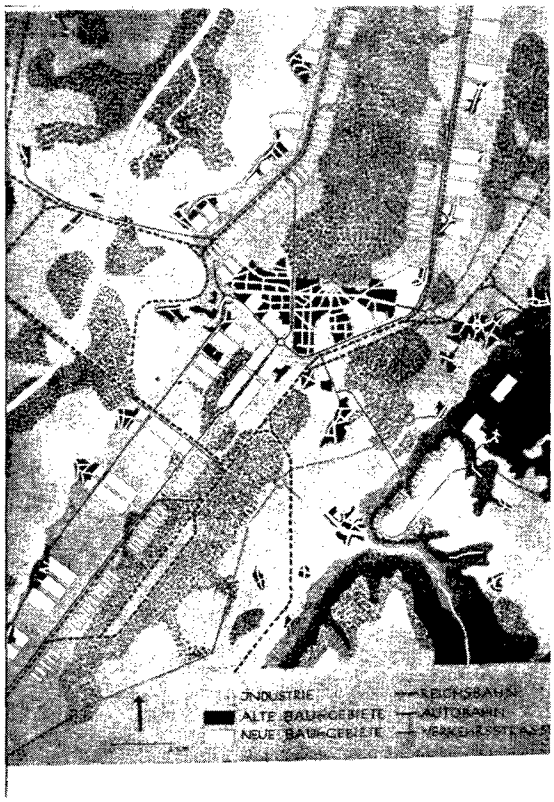
(Rudolf Schwarz Archiv Köln)

Fig.4 Rudolf Schwarz: Proposed Distribution of New Housing Neighbourhoods around the Existing City of Diedenhofen, 1942



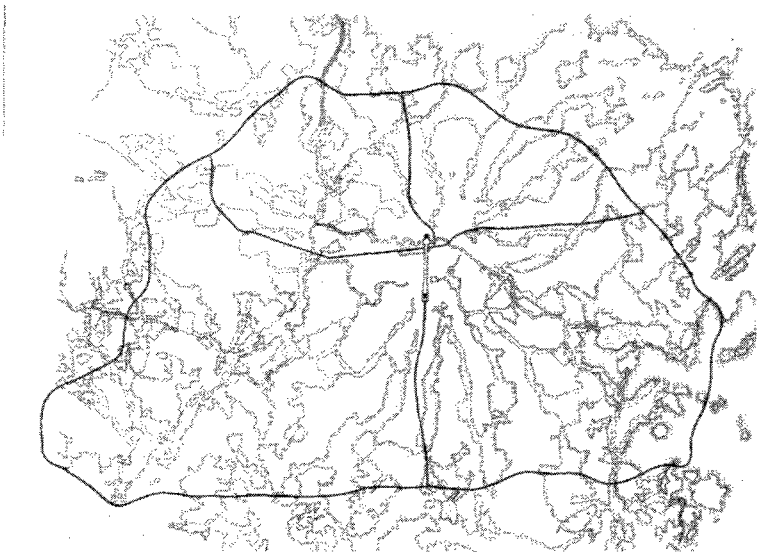
(Paul Schmitthenner Archiv München)

Fig.5 Paul Schmitthenner: "New Strasburg", First Prize of the Competition of 1940 for a Redevelopment Plan



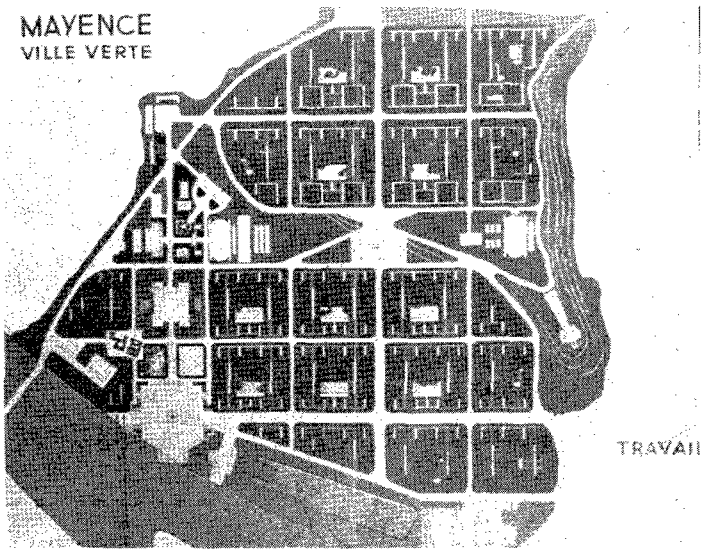
(From:Otto Ernst Schweizer und seine Schule, Ravensburg 1950)

Fig.6 Otto Ernst Schweizer: Proposal for the Redevelopment of the Karlsruhe area, 1942



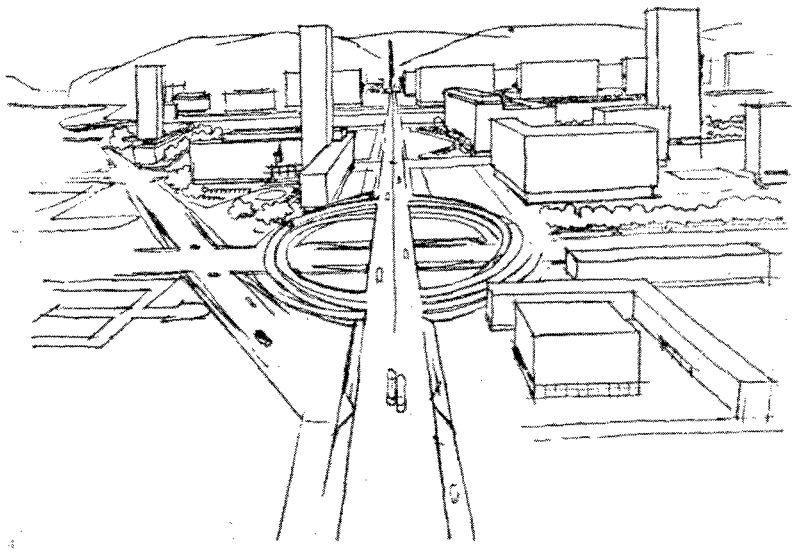
(From: Lars Olof Larsson: Die Neugestaltung der Reichshauptstadt. Albert Speers Generalbebauungsplan für Berlin, Stuttgart 1978)

Fig.7 Albert Speer: Landscape Plan for the Greater Berlin Redevelopment, about 1943



(Private Archive, Paris)

Fig.8 Marcel Lods: Mayence, Ville Verte. Proposed Plan for a New Capital of the French Occupation Zone in Germany, 1947

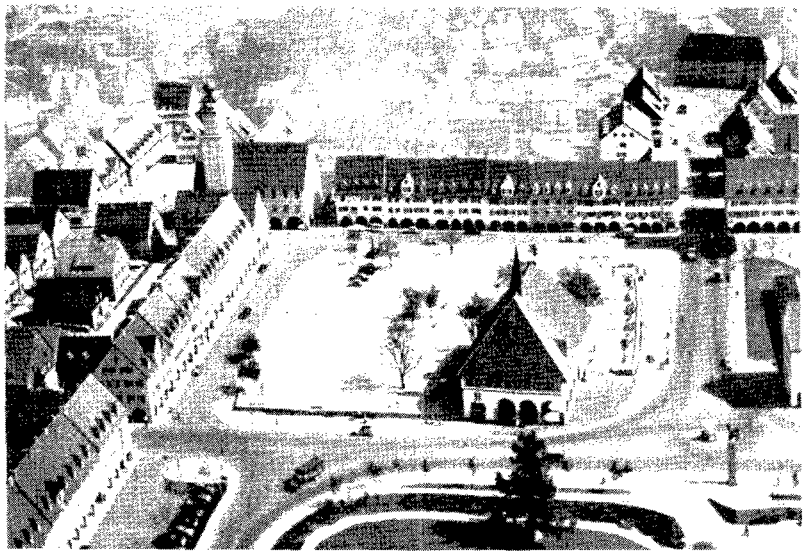


(Private Archive, Paris)

Fig.9 Georges-Henri Pingusson: Proposal for the Reconstruction of Saarbrücken, 1946/47

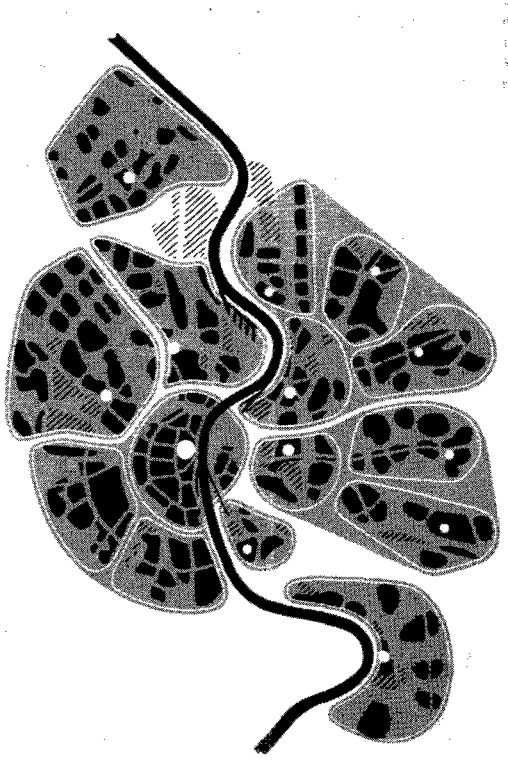
(Paul Schmitthenner Archiv, München)

Fig.10 Paul Schmitthenner: Proposed Plan for the Reconstruction of the Historical Centre of Mayence, 1947



(Stadtarchiv Freudenstadt)

Fig.11 Aerial Photo of the Executed Reconstruction of the Centre of Freudenstadt (Black Forest) following the Plan of Ludwig Schweizer, about 1952



(From: Das Neue Köln, Ein Vorentwurf, köin 1950)

Fig.12 Rudolf Schwarz: Stadtlandschaft Köln (Urban Landscape Cologne) Schematic Diagram of the Reconstruction Plan for Cologne, 1949

第二次世界大戦中および戦後のフランス・ドイツにおける都市復興

ハルトムート・フランク

ハンブルク芸術大学建築学部教授

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本論文では、第二次世界大戦中および戦後期のフランス－ドイツ国境地域における都市・地域計画の事例研究である。その計画は、ヨーロッパにおける戦後の都市・地域計画の概念に決定的な影響を与えた計画である。戦争、憎悪、流血、廃墟の時代にも関わらず、この時期は、都市・地域計画の様々なイデオロギーが収斂し始め、もはやドイツの計画とかフランスの計画とか区別することが出来なくなった時期であり、都市・地域計画の新しい汎ヨーロッパ思潮が胎動し始めた時期であった。

この論文では、最初に第一次世界大戦以降の復興計画におけるヨーロッパの伝統について簡単に記述した後、1940年のフランス侵攻後にドイツに併合されたロレーヌ地方における計画的状況を述べている。リチャード・ドゥカー、ポール・シュミットヘンネルやルドルフ・シュヴァルツ等よく知られているドイツ人建築家や都市計画家が、この地方の都市の再編（restructuration）や復興（reconstruction）の業務にたずさわっている。それは、新しい概念に基づく計画とその理念的背景の奥深さから特に著名な事例と位置付けられている、ディーデンホーフェン（ティオンビル）市周辺の工業地域計画の後半の仕事である。シュヴァルツは、分散型の田園都市でもなくコンパクトな記念碑的都市でもなく、むしろ工業地区、瀟洒な住宅地区そして都市の文化センター地区などよく均衡のとれた街並みというべき“都市景観（Stadtlandschaft）”である、新しいタイプの近代工業都市を開発する。

第二次大戦後、「地球の建設（On the construction of the Earth）」と題する本の中で、シュヴァルツは、“第三の計画”の論理すなわち、人間と工業社会と自然の間の見失われた神の秩序の再構築と、この過程での建築家と都市計画家の役割と責任について詳しく述べている。トーマシアンカソリックの思潮のルーツを明確に著し、大戦中の彼の個人的な計画体験を直接記載しているこの著書は、その歴史的背景にも関わらず、20世紀のドイツの都市計画理論の最高峰のひとつである。

これらの時代のドイツ都市計画の亡霊の中において、ディーデンホーフェン市の都市計画は、よく知られたアルバート・スピアのベルリンの計画をも包含した“都市的景観（Stadtlandschaft）”の概念が極めて多様に表現されている代表的な事例である。ポール・シュミットヘンネルのストラスブールの計画と、オット・エルンスト・シュヴァイツァーのカールスルーエの計画は、この亡霊のその他の二つの事例である。前者は、注意深く歴史的な都心を重視しながら、このライン川を超えると国境に至るという上流ライン地域の首都として、高度にシンボル的な近代的“旧市街地（Old city）”を開発するという、記念碑都市の伝統的な創造である。他方、後者は、線形都市計画と機能主義者的都市計画の最も過激な概念を基礎とするカールスルーエの非常に典型的なバロック型街路パターンの周辺地域に、交通幹線、工業と労働者住宅街の総合的な新しい都市構造を提案している。

第二次世界大戦後のドイツにおけるフランス占有地帯の新しい首都の計画にあたって、シュミットヘンネルとシュヴァイツァーのこのような対照的な計画概念は、驚くべき方法で間接的に出会うことになる。パリのマルセル・ロッズ、彼はル・コルビジュエの直弟子で、戦後ドイツにおける“アテネ憲章”の最初の紹介者であるが、フランス軍政府からメインセの総合計画策定を依頼され、シュヴァイツァーの以前の助手で1945年まで市の都市計画担当者であったアドルフ・ベイヤーが重要な役割を担っていた国際チームを率いて、斬新な新メインセ計画を1947年に策定・公表した。それほど驚くべきことではないかもしれないが、シュヴァ

イツァーの過激な機能主義とル・コルビジュエの"高層田園都市（Vertical garden city）"の代表的な提案の継承が、ロッズの新メインセ計画を特徴づけている。しかし、この新計画は、地域住民から明確に拒絶されたのである。新しく選出されたドイツ人市長は、ポール・シュミッツヘンネルに対案の提出を委託することでこの事態に明確に答えを出した。彼は、街路の近代的パターン化と地域主義的な建物形態を採用することで、新しい"旧市街地"をデザインしたのである。

両計画は、ドイツ連邦が設立され、戦災都市の復興事業が開始される1949年まで、お互いに主張しつつ対峙していた。しかしこの年、長い年月にわたる論争と計画づくりは突然に終わりを告げ、ロッズやシュミッツヘンネルの理想主義的かつ一種のユートピア的な計画概念の実践に代わって、とくに建築的に説得力のある形で政治家や土地所有者の需要を満たす実用主義的な建築ブームが、充満したのである。

本論文は、最初に1998年度日本都市計画学会学術論文発表会（山形）における「第二次世界大戦後の都市復興」ワークショップで発表し、その後東京都立大学都市研究所における研究会で報告した。この論文は、1986-89に実施された「1940-59年のドイツ－フランス関係とその建築および都市形態に与えた影響」に関するフォルクスワーゲン財団独仏共同研究の成果（未刊行）を基礎としている。